

PROGRAM OF THE ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY (Bolsheviks)

Draft of the new Program of the VKP(b) in its final revision, prepared by the decision of the February (1947) Plenum of the Central Committee of the VKP(b)

I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HUMANITY

The Great October Socialist Revolution (November 7, 1917) in Russia abolished the rule of capitalists and landowners and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. The October Revolution was a natural result of the entire course of social development, the growth of irreconcilable contradictions of the capitalist system.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened a new era in world history. Since classes appeared, society was based on the exploitation of man by man. The popular masses bore the yoke of political and economic oppression and spiritual enslavement. For many centuries, the working masses repeatedly rebelled against the exploiters, trying to cast off the yoke of the oppressors and become masters of their own situation. But in past revolutions, the working people failed to use the results of their struggle and free themselves from exploitation. One exploitative class replaced another, one form of exploitation replaced another, but exploitation itself and its foundation – the private ownership of the means of production by the exploitative classes – remained. The Great October Socialist Revolution led to the destruction of the rule of all and any exploitative classes and groups, to the elimination of all human exploitation of man.

All the centuries-old development of society in the past was essentially only the prehistory of humanity. The October Revolution marked the beginning of the true history of humanity. It signified the transition to the conscious creation of history by the popular masses and heralded the beginning of the communist era in the development of society. For the first time in history, workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie and landowners, destroyed the old state apparatus to its foundations, and created a new type of state – the Soviet state. The Soviet socialist state implemented genuine freedom for the working people. The bourgeois state was, thus, opposed by the state of the working people; bourgeois, parliamentary democracy was opposed by Soviet, socialist democracy, which is the highest form of democracy. The creation of the Soviet state marked a world-historical step forward in the liberation struggle of the working class.

Soviet power not only destroyed the dominance of the exploitative classes but also liquidated the economic basis on which the exploitation of man by man rested. Soviet power abolished landlord ownership of land, transferred land to the peasantry, nationalized industry, transport, and banks. The working people gained both political power and material means for building a new, socialist life.

The national economy of a vast country was based on the dominance of social socialist ownership of the means of production, on the principles of planning, which forever saved the Soviet people from

anarchy of production, from economic crises, unemployment, and the poverty and ruin associated with them. For the first time in the entire history of class society, over many millennia of social development, the working people finally put an end to the social system based on the oppression of the popular masses by the propertied classes, and created firm prerequisites for a truly free, prosperous, and cultural life for the working people.

The victory of socialism in the USSR confirmed the great truth of Marxism-Leninism, that capitalism is a historically transient mode of production, that it has outlived its usefulness, and that, by the laws of historical development, it will inevitably be replaced by socialism. Thirty years of the Soviet state's existence convincingly proved that the working masses of town and country, without capitalists and landowners, are not only capable of creating their own new socialist state but also of successfully managing the state, building industry, leading agriculture, developing culture, successfully defending their gains from enemies, and steadily moving forward towards the complete victory of communism. The Soviet state proved to be the most powerful state that has ever existed in history, the best form of state structure among all existing ones. The socialist system of the USSR's national economy demonstrated to the whole world its greatest advantages compared to capitalism.

The victory of the socialist revolution liberated the peoples of Russia from economic and spiritual enslavement by foreign capital and ensured their national independence. Soviet power for the first time made our country a free and independent state.

The October Socialist Revolution tore Russia out of the clutches of the First World War, proclaimed an unconditional rejection of imperialist policy both by Tsarist Russia and by the bourgeois Provisional Government formed after the February Revolution. The Soviet state born of the October Revolution consistently and steadily fights against all forms of imperialist aggression and plunder, against instigators of new wars, standing at the forefront of the struggle for lasting peace and security of nations.

The October Socialist Revolution broke the chains of national oppression in Russia, established a powerful multinational socialist state built on the principles of fraternal cooperation of peoples. The October Revolution elevated previously oppressed peoples to the position of truly free and equal. The Soviet state and social system ensured the economic and cultural flourishing of all peoples of Russia. The October Revolution thereby completely exposed the centuries-old lie about the superiority of some nations and races over others. It dealt a crushing blow to bourgeois racial theories, according to which humanity is divided into higher and lower races, of which the lower races are incapable of civilization, and the higher ones are called upon to play the role of the sole bearers of civilization and to oppress the lower ones. The October Revolution showed that even previously backward peoples, drawn into the stream of Soviet development, quickly advanced and proved capable of creating and developing advanced culture.

The Great October Socialist Revolution broke through the front of world imperialism, destroyed the capitalist system in one of the largest countries in the world, and thereby shook the foundations of bourgeois rule throughout the world. As a result of the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, the world became split into two opposing systems — socialism and capitalism. Numerous attempts by capitalist reaction through armed intervention, war, blockade, economic and ideological struggle to

undermine socialist construction and destroy the Soviet state ended in complete failure. The Soviet people emerged from all these trials even stronger and more united.

The October Revolution served as a signal and example for the working people of the entire world in their liberation struggle. It shattered the belief in the immutability and eternity of capitalism among the popular masses of capitalist countries, among the oppressed peoples of colonies and dependent countries. Under the influence of the October Revolution, a wave of revolutionary uprisings and national liberation movements swept across the world.

The October Revolution shattered the dogmas of pseudo-socialists about the impossibility of labor's victory over capital, about the necessity of submitting to the omnipotence of imperialism and being content with partial concessions from the ruling classes. The October Revolution and the victory of socialism in the USSR exposed social-reformist ideology as the ideology of saving capitalism; it showed the working class of the entire world that social-democratic reformism is the ideological prop of capitalism, its faithful defender and servant. The Second World War, which ended with the defeat of German fascism and Japanese imperialism, proved to the entire world that it was only thanks to the Soviet state, which arose as a result of the October Revolution, and only thanks to the self-sacrificing struggle of the peoples of the USSR, who bore the main brunt of this war, that humanity was saved from the danger of fascist enslavement. The USSR acted as the savior of world culture and civilization from fascist barbarism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution placed the USSR at the head of all world humanity. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the bulwark of progressive development of society, culture and civilization of nations.

The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the party of Lenin-Stalin, became the leader, inspirer, and organizer of the popular masses who carried out the great socialist revolution and the victorious construction of socialism in the USSR. Armed with the theory of scientific communism, knowledge of the laws of social development, creatively advancing Marxist-Leninist science, the VKP(b) educates the working class and all working people in the spirit of Leninism, shows them the right path, and leads them to the complete victory of communism.

II. THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The present epoch of world history is an epoch of the collapse of capitalism and the triumph of socialism, an epoch of the steady growth and flourishing of socialist society in the USSR and the transition of a number of other countries to the path of socialism, on the one hand, and of the general crisis of capitalism and the disintegration of the capitalist system, on the other.

The general crisis of capitalism was prepared by its entire course of development. Under the capitalist system, the most important and decisive means of production and exchange—land, factories and plants, railways, trade enterprises and banks—are the private property of a small class of capitalists who exploit hired workers, deprived of the means of production and compelled, because of this, to sell their labor power. Small producers—peasants, who constitute the most numerous class of the population, artisans, craftsmen, small traders—are subjected to merciless exploitation by capitalists and landowners.

Having developed society's productive forces to an unprecedented degree, capitalism became entangled in contradictions insoluble for it. Along with the increase in social wealth in bourgeois society, social inequality inevitably grows, and the gulf between the haves and have-nots deepens. The development of capitalism leads to the displacement of small production by large and very large production, to the ruin of many formerly independent small producers and their transformation into proletarians and semi-proletarians, to the impoverishment of the proletariat, doomed to increasing exploitation, to increasing insecurity of existence, to slavish conditions of labor and life. Expanding production and gathering millions of workers in huge factories and plants, capitalism imparts a social character to the production process, which contradicts the private capitalist form of appropriation. This fundamental contradiction of capitalism generates destructive anarchy of production and periodically causes devastating economic crises of overproduction. During crises, millions of people are forced to endure unemployment and hunger not because there are not enough goods, but because too many have been produced: capitalists cannot find effective demand for goods due to the ruin of the masses.

With the growth of contradictions in bourgeois society, the indignation of the working and exploited masses also grows, and the struggle of the proletariat for liberation from the yoke of capitalism unfolds. At the same time, the productive forces developed by capitalists in pursuit of profit, the socialization of labor, and the increase in its productivity have long since created the necessary material prerequisites for replacing capitalism with a higher social system — socialism. The historical mission of being the gravedigger of capitalism and the creator of a new, socialist society belongs to the working class as the most advanced class of modern society. With the development of capitalism, the proletariat grows in number, becomes more consolidated, and, passing through a harsh but hardening school of labor and struggle, becomes the recognized leader of all exploited and oppressed masses in overthrowing the bourgeoisie and the socialist transformation of society.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the pre-monopoly phase of capitalism, in which free competition prevailed among a multitude of independent enterprises, was replaced by a new phase of capitalism—imperialism, when the dominance of monopolies, financial capital, and financial oligarchy emerged, the export of capital acquired outstanding importance, the world began to be divided by international cartels, and the division of the entire territory of the earth among the largest capitalist countries was completed.

Imperialism is decaying, parasitic, dying capitalism. It pushes the contradictions of capitalism to the extreme limit, and first of all: 1) the contradiction between labor and capital; 2) the contradiction between the handful of dominating, economically highly developed countries and hundreds of millions of people in colonial and dependent countries; 3) the contradiction between various financial groups and imperialist powers in their struggle for raw material sources, markets, spheres of capital application. The former relatively smooth development and spread of capitalist relations were replaced by a spasmodic and catastrophic development of capitalism. The law of uneven economic and political development of capitalist countries in the era of imperialism is expressed in the fact that some countries leapfrog others and quickly push them out of the world market. Due to this uneven development, periodic redistributions of the already divided world are inevitable through military clashes and military catastrophes, as a result of which the front of world imperialism is weakened. The possibility

arose of breaking through this front and, consequently, of the victory of socialism in individual countries, while the simultaneous victory of socialism in all countries became impossible.

Already the First World Imperialist War of 1914-1918 marked the entry of capitalism into the period of its general crisis. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia tore out a sixth of the earth from the world imperialist system. Capitalism ceased to be a unified and all-encompassing system of world economy; it lost its former strength and stability. During the period of the general crisis of capitalism, the bourgeois system is no longer able to utilize the productive forces it has developed, which is manifested in the underutilization of its productive apparatus, caused by the narrowing of internal and external markets due to the catastrophic impoverishment of the masses, in the increasing frequency of periodic economic crises and the growth of their destructive power. The bourgeois system is no longer able to provide even a slavish existence to its hired slaves, as evidenced by the multi-million chronic unemployment, which does not disappear even in short intervals between crises. The bourgeois system has become an obvious obstacle to the development of the material and spiritual culture of humanity, as indicated by the sharp intensification of the monopoly inherent tendency to delay peaceful technical progress despite gigantic scientific and technological possibilities; an unprecedented growth of all forms of parasitism and decay; the transition of dominant monopolies to extreme forms of reaction in political life; the decline, decay, and moral degradation of bourgeois culture. The bourgeois system has turned into a mortal threat to the existence of humanity, as evidenced by the devastating wars provoked by imperialists, the universal growth of militarism, and the frantic arms race. All this characterizes the general crisis of capitalism as a historical period of the collapse of the bourgeois system.

Under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, the dominant financial oligarchy in a number of countries, being unable to rule by the former methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, transitions to fascism. The establishment of fascist regimes in Italy, Germany, and some other countries was evidence not of the strength and stability of the bourgeois system, but of its weakness and precariousness. The liquidation of the last remnants of democratic freedoms and rights of the people; unrestrained terror against the working movement; a course towards the physical extermination of all progressive elements; the search for a way out of growing internal difficulties through treacherous aggression, predatory wars, and the struggle for world domination; the policy of corrupting and morally degrading a significant part of the population, unleashing all bestial instincts in man with the aim of preparing millions of obedient executors of adventurous plans for seizing foreign lands, enslaving and exterminating other peoples – such is the face of fascism as an open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary and chauvinistic elements of financial capital.

The Second World War, prepared by the forces of international reaction and unleashed by fascist aggressors, led to a further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. Like the first war, it resulted in the unconditional weakening of capitalism, sharply changing the balance of forces between the two systems – socialist and capitalist – in favor of socialism.

The main result of the war was the defeat of Germany and Japan — the outposts of international reaction in its struggle against the Soviet Union and socialism, against the workers' and national liberation movements.

The international authority and power of the impregnable fortress of socialism—the Soviet Union—grew immeasurably. Through its heroic struggle, it not only defended its freedom and independence but also liberated the peoples of Europe from enslavement. The Soviet people, who played a decisive role in achieving victory over the aggressors and saving human civilization from fascist thugs, showed the entire world that the forces of socialism and democracy are invincible. Serving as an insurmountable barrier to the realization of the sinister designs of international reaction, a powerful bulwark of peace and security for nations, and their free development along the path of social progress and genuine democracy, the Soviet Union rightfully became a decisive factor in world politics. Without the participation of the USSR, no international problem could be positively resolved.

The capitalist camp suffered further damage: just as the First World War ended with Russia's secession from the world capitalist system, the Second World War and the defeat of fascism led to the secession from the imperialist system of a number of countries in Central and Southeastern Europe, liberated from fascism by the Soviet Army. Thanks to this, the peoples of these countries gained the opportunity, in the course of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle, to establish popular, democratic power. In Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Romania, Hungary, the new democratic power, having broken with the anti-popular traditions of bourgeois democracy, carried out progressive democratic transformations that led to the liquidation of the remnants of feudal landownership and the class of landlords, the liberation of peoples from the yoke of capitalist monopolies and foreign capital, and the creation, through the nationalization of large-scale industry and banks, of state, national property. The new type of state that emerged in these countries is a people's republic, where power belongs to the people in the person of a bloc of working classes of the population led by the working class, and where the foundations for the transition to the path of socialist development are laid.

The aggravated crisis of the colonial system, caused by the Second World War and manifested in the powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries, threatened the rear of the imperialist system. The crisis of the colonial system is evident in the fact that the peoples of the colonies no longer wish to live in the old way and have embarked on the path of resolute struggle for the creation of independent, sovereign states. To maintain power over colonial and dependent countries, imperialist predators resort to all sorts of maneuvers, acting with both violence and deception, trying to split the forces of the national-colonial movement.

Finally, being caused by the uneven development of capitalist countries, the war led to a further exacerbation of this unevenness. The swelling of the productive apparatus of the United States, alongside the economic ruin of bourgeois countries in Europe and a significant part of Asia, harbors the inevitability of particularly acute conflicts, an unprecedented exacerbation of the struggle for markets, new deep economic crises, and upheavals. Throughout the capitalist world, the war led to an unprecedented decline in the living standards of the popular masses, a rise in unemployment, poverty, and hunger, to a growth in class contradictions due to the bourgeoisie's desire to shift the main burden of the war and post-war hardships onto the shoulders of the working people, and to an upsurge in the working-class movement.

After the defeat of the fascist aggressors, the center of world reaction shifted to the United States of America, and Hitler's failed plans for world subjugation were replaced by American plans for world domination, in which England is assigned the role of a junior partner. These adventuristic plans for the

economic, political, and ideological enslavement of Europe and the entire world, irreconcilably hostile to the national interests of the overwhelming majority of countries and peoples, are dictated, on the one hand, by the greedy imperialist ambitions of the financial oligarchy and, on the other hand, by its fear of the growth of socialism and people's democracy.

As a result of the Second World War, a new alignment of the main political forces operating in the world arena emerged. Two camps were formed: on the one hand, the imperialist and anti-democratic camp, whose main goal is to establish American world domination and crush democracy, and, on the other hand, the anti-imperialist and democratic camp, whose main goal is to undermine imperialism, strengthen democracy, and eliminate the remnants of fascism. The main leading force of the imperialist camp is the USA, supported by the ruling circles of England and France. The main leading force of the anti-imperialist camp is the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

American imperialism everywhere employs dollar diplomacy, a policy of force, atomic blackmail, and threats to intimidate the fainthearted; it strives to enslave small and temporarily weakened nations and to forge an imperialist bloc against the USSR; under the flag of "Western democracy," it attempts to impose its political regime on European countries, based on the omnipotence of the dollar and the domination of a tiny handful of monopolists. American imperialism aims to turn the United Nations Organization into an instrument of its expansionist policy, undermining the principle of sovereignty and equality of the countries within this organization; it bets on the preservation and revival of imperialist Germany and Japan as its vassals; it pursues an aggressive armaments policy. The ruling classes of the Anglo-Saxon powers brazenly interfere in the internal affairs of foreign countries, everywhere supporting reactionary and openly fascist elements, planting the cannibalistic ideology of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority. The Anglo-American bloc formed after the end of the Second World War cannot be strong and lasting; the contradiction between its participants—the two main powers of modern imperialism, which is the main contradiction within the imperialist camp—is inevitably exacerbated in the struggle for markets, raw material sources, spheres of influence, and the distribution of burdens caused by post-war economic devastation.

The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism as a result of the Second World War led to the decline and crisis of bourgeois democracy. This crisis is most strongly manifested in the leading country of modern capitalism — the United States of America, where the elementary principles of democracy are increasingly openly and grossly violated by the true masters of the country — a small handful of capital magnates who became fantastically rich during the First and especially the Second World Wars.

As long as private capitalist ownership of the means of production prevails, democracy always remains in fact a democracy of the exploitative minority, directed against the exploited majority. The state under capitalism, whatever its form, serves as a machine for suppressing the working people and the exploited masses by a handful of capitalists. With the growth and exacerbation of the contradictions of capitalism, the class essence of bourgeois democracy becomes increasingly exposed, serving as a screen that hides the omnipotence of capital magnates who hold all the threads of economic and political life in their hands.

Acting under the slogan of freedom, bourgeois democracy is in reality a democracy of modern slave-owners. The overwhelming majority of the population in bourgeois-democratic countries lives in

economic slavery, experiencing fear of tomorrow, want, and destitution, which preclude any manifestation of individual freedom. Bourgeois democracy rests on the deprivation of elementary human rights of hundreds of millions of people in colonial and dependent countries, who are under the yoke of a handful of colonial powers. Freedom under capitalism cannot be anything but freedom of exploitation for capitalists, freedom to starve for proletarians, colonial slavery for the majority of the world's population.

Acting under the slogan of equality, bourgeois democracy in reality supports and entrenches the most monstrous forms of inequality. It proceeds along the path of openly cutting down and infringing upon the political, economic, and civil rights of the working masses through the issuance of laws directed against the labor movement, judicial and administrative prosecution of democratic and progressive organizations. It sanctions the unequal position of the female half of the population, who, as a rule, are denied access to state and public offices and to more skilled branches of labor; lower pay for female labor compared to male labor of the same qualification; various restrictions on women's political and civil rights; humiliating laws concerning family relations. Legalizing the disenfranchisement of the population not belonging to the dominant nation, it goes further and further along the path of national oppression and shameful racial discrimination. Equality under capitalism inevitably turns out to be glaring inequality between exploiters and exploited in all areas of social and political life.

Appearing under the guise of embodying the will of the people, bourgeois democracy has in fact become a decisive obstacle to the realization of the people's true aspirations, for in its domestic and foreign policy it sacrifices the fundamental interests of the people to the self-serving desires of the financial oligarchy, whose oppression is hated by the majority of the population. The merging of the state machine with capitalist monopolies manifests itself in such forms as the formation of governments from trusted representatives of the largest trusts, concerns, and banks, obediently executing their will and orders; open bribery of parliamentarians and senior officials by monopolies; staffing all important links of the state apparatus with monopoly employees, which acts as an apparatus of coercion and suppression against the working masses; the growth of militarism and the dominance of the military, called upon to protect the rule of monopolistic capital within the country and to serve as a means of achieving its foreign policy goals; the use of police and troops for bloody reprisals against striking workers, against demonstrations by working people; the organization by capitalists for these very purposes of terrorist fascist gangs under the wing of bourgeois-democratic authorities. In the current era of intensified struggle of the popular masses against the yoke of monopolies, bourgeois democracy defends the inviolability of capitalist property and the omnipotence of the financial oligarchy by all means of deception and violence.

The growing crisis of bourgeois democracy and all its institutions finds its expression in phenomena such as the bankruptcy of the bourgeois parliamentary system, in which the so-called popular representation is increasingly turning into an empty talk shop, while the most essential political questions — the general direction of domestic and foreign policy, changes in the composition of the government, the promulgation of important laws — are increasingly decided behind the backs of parliaments; the growth of venality and corruption among bourgeois politicians who resort to sophisticated deceptive maneuvers, especially during election campaigns; the establishment of so-called strong-hand governments, free from any responsibility to parliamentary representation.

Bourgeois democracy increasingly turns the rights of working people into a fiction. Since the material means for exercising democratic rights — buildings for assemblies, paper and printing presses for publishing newspapers, radio stations — are in the monopolistic possession of capitalists, the propertied upper strata of society increasingly use these means to falsify public opinion, to sow ignorance among the popular masses, and to poison their consciousness, to distract them from fighting for their real interests. At the same time, the ruling classes go further and further along the path of restricting the rights of working people by worsening electoral systems, by introducing all sorts of qualifications (property, educational, residency, age, etc.); by violating the secrecy of voting; by effectively preventing the formation of new professional parties; by illegally banning working-class parties and persecuting members and supporters of these parties.

The gravest crime of bourgeois democracy against humanity is that it gave birth to fascism and cleared the way for it. In countries like Italy and Germany, bourgeois-democratic regimes nurtured fascism and served as a bridge for it to power. At the same time, the bourgeois-democratic governments of other countries (England, France, USA) with their so-called policy of non-intervention and a course towards appeasing fascist aggressors helped them unleash the Second World War. After the defeat of the main centers of world fascism, the ruling circles of bourgeois-democratic countries took a course not towards eradicating the remnants of fascism in former enemy states and at home, but on the contrary — towards granting broad freedom of action to fascist elements, which they consider their allies in the struggle against the growing forces of socialism. Thus, in the modern era, bourgeois democracy as a state form, serving anti-popular reaction, directs its main blows against the forces of social progress and genuine democracy.

Bourgeois democracy, which once proclaimed the slogan of patriotism and national independence, is increasingly unable to effectively defend the national freedom and sovereignty of peoples. In a number of European states, bourgeois democracy treacherously capitulated to the fascist invaders during the Second World War. In the period after the Second World War, bourgeois democracy in a number of European countries is again embarking on the path of betraying national interests — this time to the Anglo-American contenders for world domination, who openly infringe on the sovereignty of peoples. Thus, in the modern era, the struggle for national freedom and independence inevitably extends beyond the framework of bourgeois democracy and becomes an anti-imperialist struggle. This struggle requires the liquidation of the economic power of monopolistic capital and landlord landownership, decisive intervention in economic (property) relations, without which formal democratic freedoms and rights turn into empty words, into an illusion, into a deception of the popular masses.

In modern conditions, when capitalism has long been ripe for its replacement by socialism, when the foundations of capitalist society in Europe have rotted, the bourgeois system holds on only because the working class of capitalist countries still underestimates its strength, does not possess the necessary cohesion, and does not show sufficient determination in the struggle against imperialist reaction. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, clearly overestimates its strength and pursues internal and external policies of reaction and adventurism, which, while causing untold suffering to the popular masses, further undermine the foundations of capitalism.

In this historical situation, the role of social-democratic reformism, which helps the bourgeoisie spread disbelief in the working class's strength and divides the working class, is particularly pernicious. After

the First World War, the reformist parties of the Second International saved the capitalist system from collapse through their policy of splitting the working class and cleared the way for fascism in a number of European countries. After the Second World War, right-wing socialists, being loyal accomplices of Anglo-American claimants to world domination, mask the predatory essence of imperialist policy with democratic and socialist phraseology, conduct a vile persecution of communist parties and other progressive organizations of the working class, grovel before American monopolistic capital, and thereby incite its appetites, thwarting the working class's struggle against imperialist reaction and fascism. Aiming to save the thoroughly rotten capitalist system, right-wing socialists spread treacherous illusions about the supra-class nature of bourgeois democracy, strive to subordinate the working class to bourgeois ideology and politics, and undermine its influence on the working masses of the peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie, and intelligentsia.

Under conditions of further exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism, the popular masses of capitalist countries are increasingly filled with hatred for the dominance of the financial oligarchy, which inflicts countless deprivations on the working people: bloody wars, destructive crises, mass unemployment, want, and poverty. Liberation from imperialist slavery, the socialist transformation of society—these are the tasks on the agenda of the life of peoples.

The struggle for the resolution of these urgent tasks is led by communist parties, uniting in their ranks the class-conscious vanguard of the working class. The Second World War and the defeat of fascism naturally led to the growth of the combat capability of democratic forces throughout the world, of the trade union movement of the working class, and, above all, to the growth of communist parties, their influence and significance. During the difficult years of fascist rule in Europe, communist parties passed the test of fire, leading and selflessly fighting for the national freedom and independence of peoples, betrayed to the enemy by the ruling classes. Thus, having won the trust of the peoples, communist parties increasingly rally around themselves all progressive and democratic forces, all supporters of peace and independence of peoples, patriotic elements of all countries whose sovereignty is threatened by imperialist plans for world domination. They courageously stand guard over democracy, national sovereignty, freedom, and independence of their countries, leading the struggle against the plans of imperialist expansion. Developing within the national framework of individual countries, communist parties also have common tasks, which consist in fighting against imperialist reaction, warmongers, and provocateurs of new wars, in organizing and strengthening resistance to imperialist attempts to impose their will on other peoples, in consolidating and uniting all who are capable of defending the cause of peace, freedom, and independence of peoples, their independent national and state development.

The democratic forces of capitalist countries, led by the working class, find their support in the Soviet Union—a great power of victorious socialism, whose existence and policy constitute the most important factor for peace and security of peoples, thwarting the plans of new aggressors. The attitude towards the Soviet Union is the decisive watershed between the forces of democracy and the forces of reaction on the world stage, and therefore the defense of the Soviet Union as the most reliable bulwark of freedom and independence of peoples is the most important task of true democrats throughout the world.

The policy of the Soviet Union in the field of international relations proceeds from the fact of coexistence and struggle of two systems – socialism and capitalism – and from the practically proven possibility of cooperation between states with different social systems. The Soviet Union decisively repels the dangerous machinations of new warmongers, the blackmailing attempts to intimidate peoples undertaken by American atomic diplomacy, its accomplices and helpers.

The Soviet Union, free from the exploitation of man by man and from inter-ethnic strife, consistently and resolutely champions democratic principles in international relations, among nations, large and small, honest international cooperation based on respect for the sovereign equality of peoples, their legitimate rights and interests. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is directed towards developing and strengthening ties with all peace-loving states, further strengthening friendship with the countries of new democracy and the fraternal alliance of Slavic peoples, which arose in the course of a joint struggle against a common enemy and is designed to serve as an effective instrument for ensuring universal peace and, first and foremost, the security of the peoples of Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

Pursuing its tested policy of peace and friendly cooperation among nations, the Soviet Union relies on its growing economic and political power, on the Soviet Army, ready to defend the country from any aggressor, on the undivided support of the broadest masses of the working class and working people throughout the world, who are vitally interested in preserving peace, on the support of friendly countries and, above all, the countries of new democracy, on the prudence of those circles among the ruling classes of the capitalist world who are not interested in aggressive plans and want to develop normal economic relations with the Soviet Union.

In modern conditions, plans directed against the Soviet Union threaten the existence of the majority of peoples. This is the weak point of these plans, which harbor the danger of aggression against the Soviet Union, a danger that persists as long as a hostile capitalist environment exists.

The forces of the democratic and anti-imperialist camp are incomparably more powerful than the forces of the imperialist and reactionary camp; by demonstrating organization, firmness, and endurance, the forces of democracy are capable of dooming any plans and designs of aggressors to complete failure.

The growth of the forces of communism in the Soviet Union and throughout the world is the most reliable guarantee of strengthening peace and security, freedom and independence of peoples, and the progressive development of humanity.

In the current era, when capitalism, being the greatest impediment to social development, places humanity under the direct threat of destruction, the communist transformation of society is an entirely urgent historical necessity.

III. III. RESULTS OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOVIET SOCIETY

As a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Communist Party, fighting for the fundamental interests of the popular masses and directing the development of society towards communism, came to power in the state. The VKP(b), expressing the will of the workers and peasants who had triumphed over the bourgeoisie and landlords, took upon itself responsibility for the historical destiny of the country, for the destiny of the young Soviet state.

Leading the Soviet state, the Communist Party achieved world-historical victories, organizing the transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society. Implementing the policy of alliance between the working class and the working peasantry, the Communist Party and Soviet power uplifted the broadest popular masses to historical creation and involved them in the building of socialism. The Soviet state overcame enormous difficulties on the path of socialist construction. These difficulties were caused by the desperate resistance of the exploitative classes defeated during the October Revolution and the Civil War, and by the country's age-old economic backwardness. The difficulties of socialist transformation of society were compounded by the fact that socialism had to be built in conditions of a hostile capitalist environment that used all means — military, economic, political — to fight against the Soviet state, and fully supported and inspired anti-Soviet forces within the country.

Armed with the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the possibility of building socialism in one country, the Communist Party led the struggle of the working people to liquidate economic ruin caused by the imperialist war and foreign intervention, to create the foundation of a socialist economy, and to build a socialist society.

Under the leadership of the VKP(b), a great plan for the socialist industrialization of the country was developed and implemented. Unlike capitalist countries, which carried out industrialization at the expense of robbing colonies and with the help of foreign loans and which began industrialization with the development of light industry, Soviet power, relying on internal forces and sources, on the nationalization of industry and banks, without any external assistance, began the industrialization of the country by developing heavy industry, which served as the basis for the reconstruction of the entire national economy. Having implemented the plan of socialist industrialization in unprecedentedly rapid сроки (timeframes), the Soviet Union eliminated the country's age-old economic backwardness, created a first-class modern industry equipped with the latest technology, caught up with and surpassed the most advanced capitalist countries in terms of production technology and industrial growth rates. In terms of industrial production volume, the Soviet country ranked first in Europe and second in the world. The Soviet Union achieved complete economic independence from capitalist states. Thus, all prerequisites were created to catch up with and surpass the most developed capitalist countries economically, that is, in terms of per capita production.

One of the most difficult tasks of the socialist revolution after the proletariat seized power was the socialist transformation of the small-peasant economy in the countryside. Soviet power rejected the capitalist path of creating large-scale agricultural production, which was based on the ruin and impoverishment of the main mass of the peasantry, and opened a new path of creating large-scale socialist agriculture through the unification of peasant households into collective farms, implementing the Leninist-Stalinist plan for the socialist reorganization of the countryside. This was the greatest revolutionary upheaval, equal in its consequences to the revolutionary upheaval of October 1917. On the basis of the collectivization of agriculture, the last exploitative class—the kulaks—was eliminated, and kulak bondage, poverty, and destitution in the countryside were forever destroyed. Strengthening the positions of socialism in the countryside, the Soviet state developed a wide network of state farms (sovkhozes) and machine-tractor stations (MTS), which played a major role in the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Socialist agriculture was abundantly supplied with advanced machinery. As a result of the socialist reconstruction, the growth rates and marketability of agriculture increased

many times over. The grain problem was solved in a short time, and a powerful raw material base for light industry was created.

The socialist reorganization of agriculture undermined the foundations of the age-old antagonism between town and country. Large socialist farms—collective farms, MTS, state farms—began to play the same role in the cultural and technical development of the countryside as factories and plants did in the town. Large socialist agriculture opened up wide opportunities for the application of modern technology in all branches of agricultural production, for the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture. Agricultural labor increasingly became a variety of industrial labor. Numerous industrial professions emerged in the countryside—tractor drivers, combine operators, mechanics, etc. While in small peasant farms there was no room for division of labor and specialization of workers, which was one of the reasons for the cultural and technical backwardness of the peasantry, in large socialist agriculture the division of labor and specialization of workers became a necessary and progressive phenomenon, ensuring the rise of the cultural and technical level of the rural workers. The planned distribution of productive forces led to the elimination of the former gap between agrarian and industrial regions. In areas that were previously purely agrarian, large-scale industry was created, which in turn accelerated the cultural and technical growth of the countryside. The relations between town and country fundamentally changed, because unlike bourgeois society, where the town exploits the countryside, in Soviet society the town provides comprehensive assistance to the countryside in its technical, economic, and cultural development. The Soviet countryside, in terms of production technology and cultural level, is increasingly approaching the level of the socialist town. On the basis of the country's industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, an unprecedented growth in production was achieved. This was not the ordinary development of a country from backwardness to progress, but a leap, through which the country was transformed from a backward and agrarian one into an advanced and industrial one.

The victory of the socialist economy in town and country was accompanied by the expansion of commodity circulation, which became an integral part of the socialist economic system. State, cooperative, and collective farm trade was created—trade without capitalists, without speculators. The development of socialism proceeded not along the lines of abolishing trade and money, but along the lines of developing Soviet trade and strengthening the monetary system.

As a result of the socialist industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture, and the development of Soviet trade, the exploitative classes were eliminated, and the causes giving rise to the exploitation of man by man were destroyed. Socialism in the USSR achieved a complete victory over capitalism. Implementing the policy of socialist construction, the party crushed the furious resistance of capitalist elements and their Trotskyite-Bukharinite hangers-on, who, having turned into agents of fascist states, tried in every way to harm socialist construction, disrupt collectivization and industrialization, undermine the defense capability of the Soviet state, and leave it defenseless in the face of enemies.

As a result of the elimination of private ownership of the means of production and the establishment of social socialist ownership both in the city and in the countryside, a strong economic foundation for Soviet society was created in the form of a socialist system of national economy. The contradiction inherent in capitalism between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of

appropriation was eliminated, because under socialism the social character of the production process is reinforced by social ownership of the means of production. The planned socialist economy is free from such incurable ailments of capitalism as economic crises, unemployment and destitution of millions of masses, idleness and parasitism of exploitative classes, destructive capitalist competition, anarchy of production, which excludes the possibility of rational use of society's productive forces. In the Soviet Union, the national economy develops according to the laws of expanded socialist reproduction; from year to year, there is a continuous, increasing rise in all sectors of the socialist economy.

The socialist economy revealed previously unseen sources for accelerated rates of economic development – socialist accumulation, economic accounting, economy regime, growth of social labor productivity. In connection with the elimination of unemployment in the city and the destruction of poverty in the countryside, which in bourgeois society serve as a spontaneous reserve for replenishing labor force, new sources for satisfying the growing needs of industry in labor force were opened in socialist society: organized training of qualified workers through the system of labor reserves, introduction of the practice of organized recruitment of labor force through contracts of industrial enterprises with collective farms and collective farmers.

With the victory of social socialist ownership of the means of production, the attitude of people towards labor fundamentally changed, for the working people of the USSR work not for exploiters, not for the enrichment of parasites, but for themselves, for their class, for their socialist society. Labor, from a shameful burden as it was under capitalism, became an honorable public affair. It became a matter of honor, glory, valor, and heroism. In Soviet society, the basic principle of socialism "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor" was implemented. The significance of this principle lies in the fact that it creates a personal material interest for the worker in his labor, ensures the best combination of personal and public interests, and serves as a powerful stimulus for increasing labor productivity and the growth of productive forces. On the basis of comradely cooperation and socialist mutual assistance of workers free from exploitation, the greatest movement of modern times unfolded — socialist competition, which opened wide scope for production innovators who break old technical norms and create and apply new methods of increasing labor productivity. Socialist competition results in the encouragement of leading workers and the catching up of lagging ones.

In Soviet society, the class foundations of the age-old antagonism between mental and physical labor were eliminated, whereas previously mental labor was monopolized by the ruling classes and their educated servants, while physical labor was viewed as a low and undignified occupation, considered the lot of slaves, serfs, and proletarians. In Soviet society, each worker's place in society is determined not by origin or class status, but by their labor, their cultural and technical training. Every working person gained the opportunity to improve their qualifications. The Soviet intelligentsia was formed and replenished from among workers and peasants. It is a truly people's intelligentsia. Thus, the age-old barrier between mental and physical laborers has been destroyed, and accelerated convergence is taking place not through cultural and technical equalization of mental and physical laborers, but through raising the level of workers to that of engineering and technical personnel on the basis of mastering modern technology by masses of workers, and raising their technical education and general culture. Advanced workers and peasants who have mastered modern technology are approaching the cultural level of mental laborers.

On the basis of the victory of socialism, the class structure of Soviet society fundamentally changed. For the first time in history, a society was created consisting of friendly classes of workers and peasants, liberated from the yoke of exploitation, whose alliance is strengthened by their cooperation with the intelligentsia. After the liquidation of the fundamental difference between the working class and the peasantry in their relation to the basic means of production, as a result of the transformation of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry into collective farm peasantry, the remnants of former contradictions between these classes are being erased. Private property survivals among the peasantry are being overcome, and they are increasingly imbued with the consciousness of national interests. In the USSR, complete moral and political unity of the entire Soviet people has been achieved.

In the struggle for the victory of socialism, the socialist state grew stronger and developed, its social base expanded immeasurably. The building of a socialist society proved possible not by weakening and dying away of the state, but by its all-round strengthening. After the victory of the October Revolution, the most important tasks of the Soviet state were to suppress the resistance of the overthrown classes and defend the Soviet country from the furious attacks of foreign imperialists. While restoring industry and agriculture, creating a socialist economy, and involving broad masses of working peasants in socialist construction, the Soviet state suppressed the resistance of the class enemy within the country. After the liquidation of capitalist elements in town and country, the organs of suppression turned their edge not inwards, but outwards, against external enemies. The Communist Party and the Soviet state, considering the danger of military attack on our country, tirelessly strengthened the armed forces of the country, equipping the army with modern military technology. Within the country, the main task of the Soviet state became economic-organizational and cultural-educational work. To carry out the tasks of planning, control, and accounting in the entire national economy, to organize the coordinated work of growing industry, transport, agriculture, to ensure the protection of public property and public order, a coherent, ramified state apparatus was created.

As the Soviet state strengthened, Soviet democracy developed further. The adoption of the new USSR Constitution, the most democratic in the world, was a crucial step in this direction. The Constitution legislatively affirmed the fact that socialism had triumphed in the USSR, that the socialist economic system and socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production constituted the economic basis of the Soviet state. Restrictions on voting rights, which existed during the struggle for the liquidation of the exploitative classes, were abolished, and universal, equal, direct suffrage by secret ballot was introduced. The Constitution enshrined the rights and democratic freedoms won by the revolution: the right to work, to rest, to education, to material security in old age, freedom of speech, press, assembly, rallies, the right to unite in public organizations, inviolability of person, freedom of conscience. The Soviet Constitution is not limited to formally proclaiming citizens' rights but shifts the focus to the means of exercising these rights. This is where the socialist character of Soviet democratism is manifested.

Soviet democracy is the highest form of democracy. It ensured the equal liberation of all working people from exploitation, the equal abolition of private ownership of the means of production for all, the equal obligation for all to work according to their abilities, and the equal right for all working people to receive according to their labor. Soviet democracy is manifested in the active and conscious participation of citizens in social and political life, in all areas of economic and cultural construction, in

the development of socialist competition, in the activities of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies as organs of popular power, party, trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations.

In the struggle for the establishment of socialist foundations of life against the remnants of capitalism, the Communist Party fully utilizes the proven method of criticism and self-criticism. The Party proceeds from the understanding that the struggle between the old and the new, between the dying and the nascent, constitutes the basis of our development. Criticism and self-criticism have proven to be the most reliable and sharpest weapon in the fight against backwardness and stagnation in economic and cultural construction, against elements of bureaucracy in the state apparatus, against bureaucratic methods of leadership, against the remnants of capitalism in people's consciousness and in everyday life.

The greatest achievement of Soviet democracy is the resolution of the national question in the USSR. Soviet power proclaimed and implemented in practice the principle of equal rights for all nations and nationalities. Soviet power created a strong, centralized multinational state, while at the same time ensuring the comprehensive development of the economic, political, and cultural life of all peoples of the USSR. Previously backward nations economically and culturally created and developed their own industry and advanced agriculture, a rich national culture, and their own national statehood. On the basis of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy of the Soviet state, the unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the USSR was formed and strengthened. The Russian people, through their selfless fraternal assistance to previously oppressed nations, earned the respect and trust of all peoples of the Soviet Union and rightfully occupies a leading position in the family of peoples of the USSR. A major achievement of the Soviet Union was the reunification of the Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Moldavian peoples into single Soviet republics, the reunification of the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia with all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet system liberated women for the first time in history. Soviet power not only proclaimed equal rights for women but also provided them with real opportunities to occupy a worthy place in all areas of social, political, and cultural life and ensured equal pay with men for equal work. Soviet power created all conditions for the fruitful work of women in the national economy, in the state apparatus, in cultural institutions by raising the production qualifications, cultural, and political level of women. Numerous cadres of engineering and technical workers, agronomists, teachers, doctors, etc., grew out of women.

The Soviet system ensured a steady rise in the material well-being of millions of working people in town and country. The elimination of unemployment and poverty in town and country; the continuous growth in the number of workers and employees; the annual increase in national income; the systematic increase in average annual wages; the settlement of all housing stock of former exploitative classes by working people and extensive new housing construction; the increase in money and natural incomes of collective farms and collective farmers on the basis of a growing public economy; the rapid growth of trade turnover; the development of Soviet healthcare—all this led to a fundamental improvement in the living standards of the working people.

A deep cultural revolution unfolded in the USSR. Illiteracy among the population, inherited from the Tsarist regime, was eliminated in the shortest possible time, and universal compulsory primary

education was implemented. The most important result of the cultural revolution in the USSR was the creation of its own Soviet intelligentsia; many thousands of engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors, scientists, writers, and artists grew out of the ranks of workers and peasants.

By fully supporting and encouraging the development of Soviet science, literature, and art, the Soviet state achieved a genuine flourishing of advanced culture, national in form and socialist in content, and brought broad masses of people into contact with culture; people from the common folk became creators of high cultural values. In contrast to modern bourgeois culture, whose essence lies in praising the savage customs and morals of capitalism, chauvinism and racial hatred, in justifying social inequality, the exploitation of man by man, Soviet culture is based on the principle of irreconcilable struggle against all forms of oppression and the savage morals of exploiters, a struggle for dignified human relations—relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, based on the principle of equality and friendship of peoples.

A great historical achievement of Soviet society is the growth of the socialist consciousness of the working masses, the formation of a new spiritual image of Soviet people. In the broad popular masses, the consciousness of national, state interests developed as the great law of socialist life. The Soviet people broke the chains not only of the material but also of the spiritual dependence of the country on the bourgeois West, proving the undeniable superiority of the Soviet system and its culture over capitalism and bourgeois culture. The consciousness of the superiority of the Soviet social and state system over capitalism is the source of legitimate national pride of Soviet people, a life-giving, effective Soviet patriotism. On the basis of the growth of socialist consciousness, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois survivals in relation to social labor and social property are successfully overcome. Among the popular masses of all nationalities of the Soviet Union, the ideology of friendship of peoples has strengthened, and survivals of nationalism are being eradicated. Scientific views on the world have become widely disseminated, and religious prejudices and superstitions are gradually being overcome.

The achievements of Soviet society in all areas of state, economic and cultural construction were tested in the fire of the Great Patriotic War. The victory of the Soviet people in the struggle against fascist aggressors showed that socialism, built in the USSR, gave our people an invincible force, that the Soviet system proved to be not only the best form of organization for the economic and cultural development of the country in peacetime construction, but also the best form of mobilizing all the forces of the people to repel the enemy in wartime. Soviet military science, developed by Comrade Stalin, overturned the military doctrines of hostile states. The Great Patriotic War demonstrated the increased power of the Soviet state, the fervent patriotism of the Soviet people, their solidarity around the Communist Party, and their exceptional devotion to the Soviet Motherland and the Soviet government.

As a result of thirty years of development, the Soviet state grew into a gigantic force; it possesses a mighty socialist economy, is the organizer of the country's economic life, and the full master of all material wealth of socialist society. The indestructible fortress of the Soviet state is based on the fact that it relies on the complete moral and political unity of the people, on the friendly cooperation of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, on the fraternal commonwealth of the peoples of the USSR. In socialist society, a unity of state and people was achieved that is impossible under the exploitative system. The Soviet state is the embodiment of the strength, will, and reason of the people.

With the liquidation of the exploitative classes, the victory of socialism, and the establishment of complete moral and political unity of the entire people, the dictatorship of the proletariat fulfilled its great historical mission. The Soviet state transformed into a truly nationwide state.

The Soviet people achieved all their victories and accomplishments under the leadership of the Communist Party. It inspired them to great socialist transformations, and its policy constitutes the vital foundation of the Soviet system.

Over the years of Soviet power, the VKP(b) immeasurably strengthened its ties with the popular masses, became akin to the people, and grew into a multi-million organization. The VKP(b) represents the leading core of all working people's organizations — both public and state. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the Soviet people. It is the exponent of the nationwide interests of the Soviet Union, the leading and organizing force of the Soviet state, ensuring its unity, growth, and strengthening.

The Communist Party is the ideological leader and political educator of the Soviet people. The worldview of the Communist Party has become the worldview and banner of the entire Soviet people.

The Communist Party, proceeding from the fact that in the Soviet country there is everything necessary and sufficient for building a communist society, inspires, unites, and directs the efforts of the Soviet people, the activities of all organizations of the Soviet Union towards a single goal—the complete victory of communism in the USSR.

MAIN TASKS OF THE VKP(b) FOR BUILDING COMMUNIST SOCIETY

The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) sets itself the goal of building a communist society in the USSR within the next 20-30 years.

Communism is such a society: a) where, on the basis of increased production, an abundance of products is achieved and there is a universal obligation for everyone to work according to their abilities and an equal right for all working people to receive according to their needs, and all workers of society lead a completely prosperous and cultural life; b) where the entire national economy is based on social ownership of the means of production, is equipped with highly developed technology and is managed according to a single plan; c) where there are no classes and class distinctions, and all workers in industry, agriculture and other branches of social activity are workers of a single classless society; d) where, on the basis of a huge increase in the technical base of agriculture and the raising of the cultural level of the countryside to the level of an advanced city, the antagonism between city and countryside has been eliminated; e) where, on the basis of increased qualifications, professional skill and cultural level of workers in industry and agriculture, the antagonism between physical and mental labor has been eliminated; f) where all conditions have been created for the continuous satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of people and the comprehensive development of their abilities and talents.

The transition from socialism to communism can only be carried out through a series of transitional stages, in the order of further development of the material foundations and social relations of socialist society. Only the full and comprehensive implementation of the socialist principle of equal obligation for all to work according to their abilities and equal right for all working people to receive according to their labor will allow a gradual transition to the communist principle of receiving products according to

needs. Only the comprehensive strengthening and development of the socialist state, as the main instrument for building communist society, will ensure the gradual transition from socialism to communism.

The fulfillment of the world-historical task of building a communist society requires a mighty development of the material and technical base of socialism, high rates of production development, the comprehensive utilization of reserves, an increase in labor productivity, and the selfless creative labor of Soviet people.

To build a communist society, the VKP(b) sets the following main tasks:

IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE

1. On the basis of further rapid development of the country's productive forces, solve the main economic problem of the USSR within the next 15-20 years, i.e., surpass the level of production per capita in the main capitalist countries, including the USA.
To these ends, significantly increase the production capacities of the socialist economy, and first and foremost, heavy industry (production of pig iron, steel, coal, oil, non-ferrous metals, peat, gas, chemical industry, machine building) as the foundation of the economy, with the leading role of machine building. This will require in the next three to four five-year plans to double the volume of industrial production and bring the annual output of pig iron to 50 million tons, steel to 60 million tons, coal to 500 million tons, and oil to 60 million tons.
The solution of the basic economic problem will create the abundance of products necessary for the transition to communism, further strengthen the economic independence of the USSR, ensure a further increase in its defense capability, and guarantee the Soviet country against any contingencies associated with the existence of a capitalist environment.
2. To electrify the entire country according to a unified plan with widespread use of hydropower, peat, shale, coal, wind, gas, and other energy sources. To connect large power stations into a unified network of high-voltage transmission lines with branches in every region. To widely develop the construction of small power plants using local energy resources. The electrification of the country will make it possible to: gradually transfer all industry, transport, and a number of agricultural branches to a higher technical basis; develop the technology of communism, which is an automatic system of machines based on electricity; maximize the proximity of industry to raw material sources and rationally distribute all public production. Communism, according to Lenin's teaching, is Soviet power plus the electrification of the entire country.
3. Ensure continuous technical progress, all-round development of inventiveness and rationalization in all branches of the national economy, and surpass the achievements of foreign science in the shortest possible time. Widely introduce into production the latest scientific discoveries and advanced technical methods that increase labor productivity and augment public wealth: the application of automatic flow lines and aggregate machines, telemechanics, reactive technology, radar, and especially discoveries related to the industrial use of intra-atomic energy.

4. To widely develop the chemical industry; gasification and energy-chemical utilization of solid fuels; production of artificial liquid fuels, synthetic rubber and plastic masses; chemicalization of agriculture.
5. To complete the comprehensive and complex mechanization of labor, primarily in the most labor-intensive industries and productions with heavy physical work. As the country's electrification and saturation of the national economy with first-class technology progress, introduce an automatic system of machines based on electricity into all branches of industry, which will open up broad prospects for the growth of labor productivity, eliminate unskilled labor, and serve as the material basis for the gradual overcoming of the antagonism between physical and mental labor.
6. To develop on a wide scale branches of industry producing consumer goods. Now that a powerful socialist industry has been created and its foundation—heavy industry, developing at an accelerated pace—the VKP(b) considers it possible and necessary, while maintaining the high role of branches producing means of production, to sharply increase the volume and raise the specific weight in the national economy of branches of industry producing consumer goods.
7. On the basis of wide development of technical reconstruction of railway, water, automobile, air transport and correct combination of its various types — to create a unified complex highly developed transport system of the USSR, connecting all economic regions and centers, urban and rural settlements with high-speed transport. To widely develop road construction, to connect the main economic regions of the country with a branched network of improved roads and waterways. To create a powerful telephone, telegraph and radio communication system on the latest technical basis.
8. To ensure the comprehensive development of socialist agriculture (state farms, collective farms, MTS) on such a scale as will allow, in the shortest possible time, to create an abundance of foodstuffs in the country, to have a powerful raw material base for socialist industry, and constant reserves of raw materials and food in the hands of the socialist state. To this end, it is necessary to saturate agricultural production with first-class machinery, widely develop the training of mechanization personnel, gradually transforming machine-tractor stations, as the main lever for transferring the entire agriculture to a higher technical base, into powerful enterprises of industrial type, covering all branches of agricultural production (field cropping, animal husbandry, horticulture, market gardening, construction).
On the basis of comprehensive and complex mechanization of agriculture and an increase in the production and technical qualifications of rural workers, complete the transformation of agricultural labor into a type of industrial labor. The energy base of agricultural mechanization, along with its tractorization and combine harvesting, should gradually become widespread electrification of agriculture.
9. Implement, according to a unified plan, the construction of a widespread network of canals and reservoirs, irrigation of arid regions of the Volga region, Central Asia, and other regions of the country, land reclamation and drainage of swampy soils. Complete the reorganization of agricultural production on the basis of scientific agronomy. By widespread introduction of

correct crop rotations, widespread use of organic and mineral fertilizers, breeding and introduction of high-yielding varieties of agricultural crops and highly productive animal breeds, ensure a continuous increase in crop yields and livestock productivity, eliminating the dependence of agriculture on natural contingencies.

10. To strengthen in every possible way the collective farm system of the USSR, which has proven its vitality and great potential for the continuous growth of social wealth and the transformation of the peasantry's consciousness in a socialist spirit. On the basis of the latest MTS technology, full and highly productive utilization of the production, land, and labor resources of the artels, further organizational and economic strengthening, bringing all collective farms up to the level of advanced ones—to transform all collective farms into diversified and wealthy enterprises capable of fully satisfying the needs of the state, collective farms, and collective farmers in agricultural products.
11. To implement a fundamental transformation of the cultural and living conditions of the Soviet countryside by reorganizing housing with due regard for modern architecture and communal engineering, building power stations, schools, kindergartens, clubs, cinemas, public canteens, laundries, connecting agricultural centers with large urban centers by modern transport. On the basis of mechanization and electrification of agriculture, the unification of industry and agriculture within a single economic region into a single economic complex, on the basis of housing and communal improvement of villages, as well as further development of the cultural revolution in the coming decades, complete the elimination of the antagonism between town and country.
12. To ensure the most rational distribution of the country's productive forces, bringing industry closer to raw material sources and eliminating irrational and extremely long-distance transportation; to widely develop geological prospecting work in order to maximize the use of the USSR's natural resources for the economy of developing communism; to comprehensively develop all economic regions, republican economies, local industry, and industrial cooperation; to further increase industry in the East, especially in the regions of Siberia and the Far East.
13. Consistently and persistently introduce and develop socialist principles of payment by quantity and quality of labor; resolutely eradicate all remnants of petty-bourgeois leveling and depersonalization; improve systems of piece-rate progressive payment and bonuses for engineering and technical workers for fulfilling and overfulfilling production plans, widely introduce and develop additional payment for collective farmers for high labor indicators in the social economy; use the principle of personal material interest, material and moral incentives for workers for self-sacrifice and achievements in labor as a powerful factor for further development of socialist production.
14. To cultivate and encourage in every possible way a communist attitude to labor as a matter of honor, glory, valor, and heroism. To develop socialist competition as the main method of building communism, as a powerful means of increasing labor productivity and mobilizing internal reserves, bringing lagging workers and collective farmers, enterprises and collective

farms up to the level of advanced ones, as a proven method of rapid forward movement in all sectors of the national economy.

15. As technical progress advances and unskilled, heavy manual labor is eliminated, steadily raise the production qualifications of all workers in mass professions in town and country through a system of technical schools, factory-and-plant training schools, state labor reserves, and individual training. Continuously improve existing professions and develop new ones that require a combination of high professional skill with broad technical and socio-political knowledge.

Thereby raise the cultural and technical level of workers and peasants to the level of engineering and technical personnel, consistently overcoming the antagonism between physical and mental labor.

16. On the basis of comprehensive mechanization of labor and full utilization of the working day in all sectors of the economy, achieve a level of labor productivity inaccessible to the most developed capitalist countries. As labor productivity increases and social wealth grows, transition to a shortened working day: as a first step — to a seven-hour day, and then — to a six-hour day.

17. To protect and multiply state (all-national) and collective farm-cooperative forms of property, strengthening and developing the leading and directing role of the all-national form of property in the entire national economy as the economic basis of communism.

With the completion of the country's electrification, the transformation of agricultural labor into a type of industrial labor, and agricultural artels into comprehensively developed and wealthy farms — agriculture, like other branches of cooperative production and exchange, will not differ in its socialist maturity from the all-national form of property; the distinctions between the two forms of socialist property will gradually be erased; the two forms of socialist property will merge into a single form of communist property. On this basis, along with the elimination of the antagonism between town and country, between physical and mental labor, distinctions and boundaries between classes will gradually disappear, and Soviet society will transform into a classless communist society.

18. As the material and technical base of communism develops, high labor productivity is achieved, an abundance of consumer goods is created, and the communist consciousness of the entire mass of working people grows — organize a gradual transition from distribution of products according to labor to distribution of products according to needs, with the universal obligation to work for the good of society according to one's abilities. The transition to the communist principle of distribution should be carried out gradually, to the extent of real economic possibilities. The steady growth of real wages for workers and employees and payment for workdays for collective farmers, as labor productivity increases, as well as the policy of systematic price reductions for consumer goods, must become the most important lever for the transition to the communist principle of distribution.

First and foremost, the VKP(b) sets itself the task of ensuring distribution according to needs for basic foodstuffs (bread, meat, sugar, vegetables, fats), and then — for essential industrial goods and mass-market goods, with the aim of gradually transitioning in the future to distribution

according to needs for all consumer goods.

While preserving personal ownership of consumer goods and household items, communism ensures ever more complete and diverse satisfaction of the continuously growing personal needs of members of society, and this growth of needs, in turn, is a driving force for the growth of production.

19. To strengthen and develop planned methods of managing the national economy, correctly and flexibly combining state centralization with the production initiative and self-activity of broad masses of working people in town and country, which is a reliable means of eradicating bureaucratic distortions, inertia, and routine in economic management. To steadily raise the role and significance of economic accounting, money, the state budget, credit, prices, profits, Soviet trade as the most important levers for transforming socialist society into communist society. To strengthen and develop the monopoly of foreign trade in order to further strengthen the country's economic independence and expand trade ties with foreign countries, especially with countries of people's democracy.

To develop state and cooperative trade in town and country, encouraging competition between these two types of Soviet trade for the most perfect and culturally advanced service to the diverse demands of consumers. To strengthen the monetary system, making the Soviet ruble the hardest currency in the world.

20. To create powerful and diverse state reserves and insurance funds, guaranteeing society in case of natural disasters, foreign policy complications, and other unforeseen circumstances, and ensuring the planned and accelerated development of the Soviet economy.

IN THE SPHERE OF CULTURE AND THE DAILY LIFE OF WORKING PEOPLE

1. Based on the steady rise in the material well-being of the people, the development of the entire system of cultural and educational work, the expansion of the network of educational institutions, vocational training, and the widespread development of the printed word, cinema, radio, literature, and art, to make all workers and all peasants cultured and educated people.
2. To widely develop school construction and the training of teaching staff, so as to introduce universal compulsory seven-year schooling for children everywhere, and subsequently gradually implement universal compulsory education for children and youth to the full extent of secondary school, both in town and country. To ensure the supply of schools with high-quality textbooks, the latest educational equipment, and visual aids.
In accordance with the needs of the national economy, develop a network of industrial (vocational), agricultural, and transport schools, ensuring the training of workers who possess qualified professions and broad general education. Expand the network and contingents of students in higher educational institutions in order to fully satisfy the growing needs of the national economy and cultural construction for qualified specialists in all branches of knowledge.
3. To expand on a large scale the construction of research institutes and the planned training of personnel in all fields of science and technology. To make full use of the latest discoveries and achievements of science and technology in all fields of the national economy, in order to surpass

the achievements of science beyond the USSR in the near future. To ensure the supply of research institutes and higher educational institutions with the most advanced laboratory equipment.

4. To contribute to the full flourishing of Soviet literature and art, to create highly artistic works reflecting the greatness of the Soviet era, the heroism and noble traits of the Soviet man, to raise the role of Soviet literature and art in the communist education of working people.
5. To create a powerful film industry, sharply increase the production of films, ensuring constant service of all populated areas of the country with films.
6. To create a powerful industry for the production of radio equipment, to radio-equip every home both in the city and in the countryside, and to extensively develop television.
7. To establish large-scale production of printing equipment, expand the construction of printing houses, develop the paper industry and book printing to meet all the needs of the population for newspapers, magazines, and books.
8. To systematically conduct extensive construction of clubs, houses of culture, theaters, museums, libraries, and reading rooms for the most comprehensive satisfaction of all spiritual needs of the people.
9. While maintaining the inviolability of freedom of conscience, the VKP(b) considers it its duty to systematically and patiently, without allowing any administration, offense, or infringement of the feelings of believers, to strive for the liberation of working people from religious prejudices through widespread and systematic propaganda of a scientific-materialistic worldview.
10. To fundamentally resolve the housing issue, which has crucial national economic significance and affects the most vital interests of the working people. To create a powerful industry for housing construction. Through widespread development of new housing construction in cities, state farms, and collective farms, and by encouraging and materially supporting cooperative and individual housing construction, ensure every family in both the city and the countryside has well-appointed housing. To provide all homes with electricity and widely develop the provision of everyday services for working people with all means of modern communal technology: sewage, water supply, gas, heating, etc. To widely introduce various electrical appliances into everyday life, which will ease household labor and help bridge the gap between urban and rural living conditions. To systematically carry out urban reconstruction, landscaping, water supply, and architectural design. To limit the further growth of the largest cities of the USSR, stopping the construction of new industrial enterprises in these cities.
11. To ensure favorable working and living conditions for Soviet women, both for the performance of their social and production duties and for motherhood, by widely expanding the construction of public canteens, mechanized laundries, and children's institutions.
12. To strengthen the Soviet family and educate Soviet people in the spirit of high moral principles in family relations.

13. For the purpose of educating a physically healthy and vigorous generation of builders of communism, defenders of the Motherland, to widely develop all types of sports, the construction of stadiums, water stations, sports grounds, gymnastic halls and other sports facilities, ensuring universal physical training for citizens of the USSR.
14. To implement a broad system of measures for the protection of public health: the elimination of occupational diseases and full improvement of labor conditions in production, the further development of a network of hospitals, polyclinics, maternity hospitals, rest homes and sanatoriums, ensuring qualified medical assistance to the entire population, the complete eradication of social diseases and conditions that give rise to various diseases.
15. To ensure material prosperity for large families, the elderly, war invalids and labor invalids, surrounding them with attention and care.

IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE

1. The VKP(b) considers the all-round strengthening and further development of the Soviet socialist state as the main lever for successful communist construction, as the main transformative force capable of ensuring the gradual transition from socialism to communism, to be a decisive condition for building communism.
2. To universally strengthen and develop the economic-organizational and cultural-educational role of the Soviet state, which, in the interests of multiplying social wealth, raising the well-being and cultural level of the working people, is called upon to improve the planning of the entire national economy, ensure steady technical progress, strengthen the leadership of socialist agriculture, and develop among the people the consciousness of state interests as the highest law of Soviet society's life.
3. Consistently develop Soviet democratism as the highest form of people's power. On the basis of involving broad masses of the people in the direct administration of the state, further enhance the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies as organs of people's power, responsible to the people, as conductors and bearers of nationwide interests, as the center of socio-political activity of Soviet citizens.
4. Constantly improve the state apparatus, improve its work, striving to raise the professional qualifications and political preparedness of personnel so that all employees of the apparatus deeply understand their assigned duties and consciously implement the policy of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state; ensure the strictest discipline in all links of the state apparatus, eradicate all manifestations of bureaucracy and inattention to the needs of the popular masses.
5. To encourage and develop criticism and self-criticism of all shortcomings in the activities of state institutions, public organizations and individuals, as a powerful driving force of Soviet society, as a sharp weapon against stagnation, inertia and backwardness, as a reliable means of overcoming contradictions in the development of Soviet society.

6. To raise the role and significance of voluntary public organizations (production, scientific, cultural, sports, etc.), called upon to develop the communist consciousness, initiative and creativity of Soviet people in the most diverse areas of social, political and cultural life.
7. Consistently implement the further development of the economy and culture of the Soviet Union republics and autonomous regions, fully completing the transformation of previously backward outskirts into advanced and cultural republics and autonomous regions. Expand the rights and functions of the Union republics, their sphere of activity in the field of economics, finance, culture, and at the same time strengthen the centralized leadership of all-Union affairs, comprehensively strengthening the unified Soviet Union state.
8. To develop the national in form and socialist in content culture of all peoples of the Soviet country, to strive for the best achievements of the national culture of each people and, above all, the great Russian culture, to become the property of all peoples of the USSR.
For the further rapprochement of all peoples of the USSR, a faster economic and cultural growth of the union and autonomous republics, improvement of personnel and the possibility for working people of various nationalities to successfully serve in the ranks of the Soviet Army — ensure the study of the Russian language by broad masses of non-Russian nationalities.
9. To comprehensively strengthen the Soviet Army as a reliable guardian of the state interests of the Soviet Union, the security of the peoples of the Soviet country, and as a strong bulwark of state independence and security of all other peace-loving peoples; to continuously equip the Soviet Army with the latest military technology and to raise its combat and moral qualities, educating all personnel of the army in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, in the spirit of conscious fulfillment of military duty and personal responsibility of every soldier for the defense of the Motherland; to comprehensively raise the military and socio-political training of the officer corps of the Soviet Army, to develop Soviet military science, generalizing the experience of the Great Patriotic War; to develop widespread and universal training of the population in modern military art; to develop the activities of all kinds of military and sports organizations that help train personnel for the Soviet Army.
10. To strengthen the intelligence agencies of the Soviet state, capable of resisting all subversive, espionage, and sabotage machinations of the intelligence agencies of bourgeois states.
11. In the field of foreign policy, to steadfastly fight for a lasting democratic peace and the security of nations against all forms of imperialist expansion and aggression; to maintain good-neighborly relations with other states on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of large and small countries; to expand economic and business ties with all peace-loving countries; to strengthen and develop friendly ties with countries of new democracy; to cherish as the apple of one's eye the friendship and fraternal cooperation of the Slavic peoples; to systematically expose the warmongers; to unite the forces of democracy in the international arena for organized resistance to the machinations of reactionary imperialist circles of bourgeois states.
12. Consistently implement further democratization and improvement of Soviet judicial organs, which are called upon to protect state and public property, as well as the personal property of

citizens, to ensure strict observance of state laws. Along with severe measures of punishment against enemies of communism and their accomplices, the Soviet court will increasingly apply conditional sentencing, replacement of imprisonment with compulsory labor, a system of educational measures towards persons who commit crimes not out of anti-state or anti-popular motives, but due to lingering old habits and unconsciousness.

Develop, alongside state judicial bodies, the organization of public courts of honor in state institutions, enterprises, and collective farms, with the aim of promoting the education of citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, influencing members of society who commit anti-patriotic and anti-state offenses, violating the rules of communist communal living and communist labor discipline.

13. To raise the role of trade unions as schools of communism, as the most massive organizations of the working class, ensuring ties between the VKP(b) and broad masses of workers and employees, called upon to systematically educate working people in the spirit of communism, increasingly involving them in the construction of the communist economy and fully contributing to raising the cultural and technical level of workers to the level of engineering and technical labor.

To comprehensively develop the activities of trade unions for the further advancement of socialist competition of working people, the production activity of workers, foremen, engineering and technical workers, for strengthening labor discipline, achieving ever higher production norms, mastering new and newest technology by workers, retaining specialists and workers in leading sectors of the national economy; to ensure the wide promotion of advanced workers, who have shown examples of mastering new technology, high labor productivity, and are innovators of production, to leading positions in all sectors of public and state life.

To strengthen the work of trade unions to improve the material well-being of workers and employees and their cultural and living standards, attracting workers and employees to active participation in public control and inspection of the work of canteens, rest homes, sanatoriums, and other institutions serving the material and cultural needs of the working masses.

To build all trade union work on the basis of wide development of trade union democracy, resolutely expelling from their activities all elements of bureaucracy, negligence, inattention, and formal attitude to the needs and interests of the working people.

To strengthen international ties of Soviet trade unions with trade union organizations of the working class of all countries.

14. To comprehensively raise the role and significance of the Komsomol as a mass youth organization, called upon to assist the Bolshevik Party in educating the younger generation of the USSR in the spirit of communism, selfless devotion to the ideas of Leninism, in the spirit of Soviet patriotism. To strengthen the activities of the Komsomol in educating communist consciousness and communist morality among youth, in forming a vigorous generation of Soviet people, believing in their strength, capable of overcoming difficulties and obstacles, who are historically destined to be active builders of communism. To ensure the expansion of the ideological and organizational influence of the Komsomol on all youth in cities and villages: to strengthen the ties of Soviet youth with democratic youth organizations throughout the world.

15.To conduct systematic work on the communist education of the Soviet people; to overcome to the end the remnants of capitalism in people's minds; to systematically expose bourgeois ideology; to wage a resolute struggle against all elements of nationalism and chauvinism; to consistently instill in the minds of all members of Soviet society the ideology of equality and friendship of peoples.

One of the most important tasks is to educate all citizens of the USSR in Soviet patriotism, a sense of dignity of a Soviet citizen, devotion to the interests of the Soviet state, a sense of pride in the country of Soviets, where socialism has triumphed and a communist society is being built; to educate citizens of the Soviet Union in the spirit of consciousness of the superiority of Soviet society, Soviet culture over bourgeois society and bourgeois culture, to overcome all remnants of subservience to bourgeois culture.

16.Bearing in mind that in the period of transition from socialism to communism, the role of the Communist Party as the leading force of the Soviet people increases enormously, and the further strengthening of its indissoluble ties with the popular masses acquires special significance for the victorious solution of the tasks of communist construction — to tirelessly strengthen the organizational might of the Party, raise the ideological level and political training of Party members and candidates, educate the entire mass of communists in the spirit of Leninism, raise the activity and vanguard role of communists in all spheres of socio-political life, economic and cultural construction.

17.The VKP(b), faithful to the principles of international solidarity of the working class, recognizing the vanguard role of the USSR in the progressive development of humanity, sets as its task to strengthen fraternal ties with communist parties of all countries of the world, fighting against capitalist slavery for the triumph of genuine democracy, for the victory of socialism.

Source: RGASPI. F. 629. Op. 1. D. 128. L. 1— 48; analogous text in A.A.Zhdanov's fund: RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 125. D. 476. L. 112-158.